LABOUR MONTHLY

1s.

EDITOR R PALME DUTT

"Behind the Dollar Curtain"
American Readers

Design for Peace
Leah Manning, M.P.

The War Danger William Rust

Two Impressions of Scarborough
Steve Lawther and Tom Gittins

The Wage Freeze Jim Gardner

JULY, 1948

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

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Vol. XXX. No. 7

CONTENTS

July, 1948

	Page
Notes of the Month: *Lessons of Scarborough* by R. P. D. ...	193
"Behind the Dollar Curtain" by AMERICAN READERS ...	201
The Mundt-Nixon Bill: Address by HENRY WALLACE	205
Design for Peace by LEAH MANNING, M.P.	206
The War Danger by W. RUST	209
Two Impressions of Scarborough (i) by STEVE LAWTHER (ii) by TOM GITTINS ...	214
The Wage Freeze by JIM GARDNER	216
100 Years Ago— The New Rhenish Gazette Fights Back ...	220
A Garhwali Hero Speaks	221
Book Reviews— Winged Dagger by Roy Farran: *Peter Brinson* ...	223
From Cobbett to the Chartists 1815-1848. Edited by Max Morris: *Archibald Robertson* ...	223

FLOURISH OF TRUMPETS

The British have a reputation abroad for a characteristic which our critics describe as "intolerably conceited mock modesty", and our admirers as "a genius for understatement". It seems we fight shy of praise. Perhaps the simplest way to scotch this rumour as far as the LABOUR MONTHLY is concerned is to allow our readers to blow our trumpet for us. Let them, then, compose this trumpet voluntary for themselves. And if many of the flourishes hail from overseas, it is purely accidental.

FROM BRITISH READERS

"Thank you for the brilliant May Notes—a colossal reviver out here, where the general atmosphere is apathetic and pessimistic."

(Sergeant, M.E.L.F.)

"Once more I enclose 5s. from my friends and self, with appreciation for the valuable service of L.M. and best wishes to all of you."

(Ayrshire)

FROM GERMANY

"My £ position is about as good as your $ position; in short, I cannot send you another subscription. But now I am receiving a copy from an English reader the problem is solved. Thanking you for the help the L.M. has given us and still is giving us here."

(A German journalist, Hamburg)

FROM A FASCIST PRISON

"We thank you much. My fellows and I translate it with pleasure."

(Political prisoner)

FROM INDIA:

"Mad as a March Scare" is a most splendid article. You have torn the ruling class scoundrels to tatters. There are witch-hunts here, too, with partition—Mountbatten monstrosity—in action. I have been a regular reader for years, and R.P.D's. Notes are deservedly famous."

('Indicus,' Deccan)

FROM THE UNITED STATES

A trade union official writes from California:

"Several of us in the office here read the L.M. carefully, and speaking for myself, I

(Continued on page iv of cover)

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Notes of the Month

Lessons of Scarborough

EVENTS have already left far behind the decisions of the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party. After all the trumpets have been blown for the glorious "victory" of the Right Wing, the fruits of victory are proving dust and ashes. It is easier to organise the paper triumphs of manipulated votes in the safe retreat of the Conference chamber than to banish the ever more pressing bread-and-butter demands of the working-class, conceal the glaring contrast of falling real wages and soaring profits, reverse the declining figures of individual membership, or exorcise the spectres of the economic and political situation. It is not surprising that the delegates to Scarborough should now be suffering from the aftermath, or eager to let slide into oblivion the proceedings of a Conference universally proclaimed "the dullest conference on record"—in the words of the Labour Party weekly *Tribune's* reporter, "a flat mass of insignificance". Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underestimate the significance of Scarborough, or fail to give the most serious thought to its lessons. Its consequences for the future of British Labour are menacing, and the practical conclusions need to be drawn, not least by the Left.

Scarborough Hangover

Reality has indeed pronounced within a few weeks its harsh verdict on Scarborough. The just and overdue wage demands of three million engineers pay scant heed to Herbert Morrison's exhortations to cease "stretching out their hands for more" or attempting to "squeeze the capitalists further". The mounting figures of the adverse trade balance, as the gross miscalculations of the export drive are revealed in the piling up of unsaleable stocks, have knocked into a cocked hat the precarious estimates of Cripps' Economic Survey for 1948, which goes to join its predecessors as an ironic record of planless impotence and lack of foresight. Congressman Taber has begun the congenial task of whittling away Aneurin Bevan's rousing super-socialistic remedy for mass unemployment by the hope of doles from American millionaires; and even if Taber's cuts should be restored, the draft terms of the bilateral treaty have begun to reveal the bars of the trap where the Bevan mouse has found such tempting bait, in the shape of eighteen penn'orth of cheese as the price of Britain. The brilliant device of eliminating Palestine from the agenda of discussion has not eliminated Palestine from the map, any more than the refusal to ban fascism has banished the menace of fascism. Bevin's eighteen-to-one majority has not turned a single one of his

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fiascoes into a success; and the London Conference Plan on Germany has brought into view the sombre prospect of the open rupture of Four Power co-operation and return to the discredited Munichite policies of rebuilding German reaction and the anti-Soviet bloc, for the eventual fulfilment of the crazy American war plans. The record does not offer a bright outlook for the General Election of 1950.

The Grand Retreat

In this deepening tension of world affairs and of Britain's crisis, who thinks of Scarborough? Who turns for light and guidance to Scarborough? What message of hope has Scarborough to offer for the British people? Does even the most zealous *Daily Herald* leader-writer turn proudly to the record of Scarborough to provide the compass and the chart for his interpretation of daily events? It is doubtful if the average delegate could recall today a single important positive decision from Scarborough—even though he might recall plenty of negative ones, expulsion or disciplining of the Left, damping down of aspirations and admonitory warning speeches, or shelving of major issues. Thus it might well appear as if, in the stress of current events, the memory of Scarborough were already sinking below the level of consciousness, weighed down, like President Truman in American politics, by the massive burden of its own insignificance. Yet in fact Scarborough was a significant Conference, even though its significance was negative. In the historical record it is likely to prove the most important of the three Conferences since the Labour Party took office—certainly not less a landmark than that preceding Scarborough Conference of 1931. For the Scarborough Conference of 1948 was the Conference of the Grand Retreat of Social Democracy.

"The End of the Road"

"The plain fact is", wrote the *New Statesman and Nation* in a striking article "Thoughts for Scarborough" on the eve of the Conference, "that the Labour Party is reaching the end of the road which it first set itself to traverse in 1918, and then mapped out in full detail in *Let Us Face the Future*" (15.5.48). What is the nature of this "end of the road"? What kind of Britain does it reveal? Three years ago the Labour Party was returned to office with an absolute parliamentary majority. For tens of years from innumerable platforms this moment had been proclaimed as the moment which would inaugurate the "great peaceful British revolution". Today we are beginning to be able to measure the outcome after three years. "Social Democracy", declared the Secretary of the Labour Party, Morgan Phillips, "has never been successful anywhere else, and we are now trying to show that it can and will be successful" (*Daily Herald*, 9.2.48). The first part of his proposition is certainly correct. The second part is now being subjected to the merciless test of experience. The classic experience of German Social Democracy

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between the two wars is being repeated with distressing fidelity (even to the police protection of fascism) in the new conditions of Britain after the second world war. It is for the Left to see that the outcome shall this time be different.

Third Test

The two previous tests of the two former Labour Governments were not finally decisive in the experience of the working-class movement, because they were Governments in a minority and could always plead their minority position as the excuse for impotence. Further, the exposure of Reformism in those two former Labour Governments has never yet been frankly faced by the reformist movement (where self-criticism is unknown), because in the current shallow conventional mythology the shortcomings of Reformism have been disguised as personal shortcomings of MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, supposedly exorcised by the departure of those individual leaders. In reality, it would be singularly difficult for Attlee, Morrison, Cripps or Bevin, if challenged, to show a single formula they are employing today, a single tenet, a single philosophical principle, wherein they differ from the philosophical principles and teachings of MacDonald. The disciples are the progeny of the teacher, and have not even added one original touch. They have never recognised, as the much greater founders of Fabianism honourably recognised in their later years, that the whole basis of Fabianism is unsound—"hopelessly wrong", as Mrs. Webb wrote in the epilogue of the newly published "Our Partnership", because they failed to reach until their final years "our conversion to the Marxian theory of the historical development of profit-making capitalism". No glimmer of this has reached the little MacDonalds, who cast their petty spite of Tory abuse against Communism and the Socialist Soviet Union. The test is absolute. The old aliases and alibis can no longer be pleaded. There is no longer a minority, but an overwhelming parliamentary majority. There is no longer MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, but the remarkably, fundamentally, conspicuously different Attlee, Morrison and Bevin. The test lacks nothing in completeness.

Years of Change

These three years have seen great social changes in many countries of Europe and the world. In the new democracies of Eastern Europe landlordism has been ended; the big monopoly capitalists have been dispossessed; the land belongs to the cultivators; all large-scale industry is owned by the new democratic people's states, based on the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and operates, no longer for private profit, but for collective benefit. On this basis a gigantic task of reconstruction has been carried through, and is proceeding to daily new triumphs of planned economic development. Can we show any corresponding social change here? Does land-

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lordism cease to extract its toll of rent in Britain? Does monopoly cease to dominate industry and extract its toll of profits? War devastation was many times heavier in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe; yet it is Western Europe that struggles in the depths of crisis and holds out a pauper's hand for Marshall doles, while Eastern Europe without American dollars speeds forward. Can we show any parallel achievements of reconstruction here?

"The Best Post-War Job"

Let the *Daily Herald* answer. The *Daily Herald* on Poland is scarcely likely to be prejudiced in favour of a People's Democracy or against the Labour Government. Yet the official Labour organ writes with reference to the recent visit of the Polish Minister of Reconstruction:

> The man who has done probably the best post-war job in Europe is Michael Kaczorowski, Polish Minister of Reconstruction, here as the guest of Lewis Silkin . . . Said Silkin (when visiting Warsaw), "Come and see how we do it in Britain".
>
> Not, as Silkin himself readily admits, that we have much to teach Kaczorowski.
>
> Although his country was the worst damaged in Europe, its reconstruction has gone ahead faster than any other. (*Daily Herald,* 4.6.48).

Nor is there any mystery about this admitted greater success of Polish reconstruction. It has been made possible by the liquidation of landlordism and big capitalism by the establishment of a People's Democracy, by the leadership of the Communist Party. Here, after three years of "Britain's peaceful revolution" (and we have now been told at Scarborough that the programme is reaching completion, and that it is time to "consolidate"), we are not one inch nearer socialism. Class relations are basically unchanged, save that profits after taxation are now much higher than when the Labour Government came in, and real wages are lower.

The Hour of Awakening

But has not a great legislative programme of nationalisation and social reform been carried through? Have not coal and power and transport and the Bank of England been nationalised, and social security and health and education measures, with whatever limitations, been adopted, in accordance with the plans prepared under the Coalition Government? Undoubtedly; an important programme of reform measures has been carried through—even though the major lines of capitalist and imperialist policy have largely counteracted the benefits to be obtained from them, and are increasingly limiting their execution, as the Scarborough retreat is now revealing, with the change-over now to reverse tendency of cuts and sacrifices. This cycle of social concessions in face of the rising wave of post-war mass demands, followed by cuts and a renewed offensive in the name of economic necessity, as soon as the moment of political tension is

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passed, is also part of the familiar experience of Social Democracy, as in Germany after 1918. But all these measures have made no basic change in class relations; they have not changed Britain's economy from a capitalist economy to a socialist economy; they have made no inroads into the sacred circle of rent, interests and profits; they have not diminished one whit the exploitation of the workers. The measures of nationalisation were important measures of reorganisation and unification; but they were not measures of socialism; they changed only the form of capitalist class ownership. Similarly the increased social services and food subsidies were more than paid for by taxation of the workers, taking into account the effects of the increased weight of indirect taxation. Hence the grimness of the Scarborough slogan that the time has come to "consolidate the gains". When the signal is sounded, under cover of this slogan, to reverse the engines and proceed with the policy of cuts and increased burdens on the workers, in accordance with the demands of the big monopoly capitalist interests, the hour of awakening is due.

Nationalisation—In Whose Interest?

Symptomatic was the increasingly intense discussion and unrest revealed at Scarborough on the question of nationalisation and the experience of the nationalised industries. The old illusion that any measure of nationalisation is automatically a measure of socialism, and a gradualist step to the ultimate triumph of socialism, is today being exposed, no longer only in theory, but in practice. The British Labour Movement is engaged in learning this lesson, still so far in its time-honoured traditional fashion, that is, not by theory, not by a theoretical exposure of the shortcomings of the Fabian theory of nationalisation, but empirically, by practice, by actual experience of the shortcomings of the Coal Boards and Public Corporations. There is nationalisation and nationalisation. There is capitalist nationalisation and socialist nationalisation. It has always been in the interests of the capitalist class to have State ownership of certain spheres of economy; and the boundaries have always been elastic, and varied from country to country, and from period to period; while the tendency to increase the range of State ownership has been especially characteristic of monopoly capitalism, irrespective of whether under a Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Fascist Government. If every measure of State ownership or nationalisation were to be taken as a measure of socialism, then Bismarck and Disraeli would be champions of socialism, and Hitler and Tojo would be super-socialists. The economy of a country can only be judged as a whole.

The "Mixed Economy" Illusion

The decision on nationalisation in any given case is, from a capitalist point of view, always, as every Tory and Labour politician

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and professional economist is never tired of repeating, entirely one of "expediency", and never one of "doctrine", i.e. of socialism. It could very well correctly reflect the interests of British capitalism at present (irrespective of the squeals of individual capitalists) for the largely derelict coal mines and railways to be taken over by the State, and for the heavy costs of modernisation to be borne by the State, and indeed for a series of essential auxiliary industries, such as coal, power and transport, covering 20 per cent. of economy to be run by the State in the interests of profit-making capitalist industry as a whole, while the main range of profitable industry, covering 80 per cent., remains directly in the hands of the monopolies and private capitalists. This is precisely the "mixed economy" which the leaders of the Labour Party at Scarborough, as in Dalton's speech, have now informed us, "will remain for some time". It is entirely incorrect to speak of this as a "mixed economy" with a "socialist sector" and a "capitalist sector". It is a monopoly capitalist economy with a public capitalist sector and a private capitalist sector. The totality of capitalist class ownership is unchanged. Indeed, as Dalton recently pointed out:

> As a result of our nationalisation measures already passed, gilt-edged stock quoted on the Stock Exchange will soon have increased from £15,000 million to £17,000 million, and "other securities" reduced from £13,000 million to £11,000 million. (H. Dalton in the *New Statesman and Nation*, 21.2.48).

The total remains £28,000 million—before and after. That is, the totality remains capitalism. The programme is reaching completion, declares Morrison at Scarborough. And the end of the programme is—capitalism.

Gains and Losses

But the laws of capitalism continue to operate, so long as the economy is capitalist, irrespective of the most assiduous legislative programme. This is the vulnerable point, the Achilles' heel of Reformism. The crisis always takes the reformist by surprise, because it always comes in new and unexpected forms; and he is inclined to suspect the Marxist of black magic for being able to predict it. At the very moment when Morrison was boasting at the Margate Conference in the summer of last year that the 1931 crisis had taken him and his fellow Ministers of the MacDonald Labour Government completely unawares, but that they had now perfected their machinery to be prepared in time, he and his fellow Ministers of the Attlee Labour Government were showing themselves without the slightest inkling of the new and deeper type of crisis which the collapse of convertibility was about to lay bare and let loose upon them in full blast within a few months, and which the Communists had predicted with complete accuracy. While the legislative machine of the supposed peaceful

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gradualist transition to socialism by successive measures of nationalisation and social reform was working overtime, the realities of capitalist relations were revealing a very different picture. Between 1945, when the Labour Government came in, and 1947, the total of rent, interest and profits, after taxation, increased by no less than £631 million, or an increase of 22 per cent. above the record heights of the end of the war. In the same period the total of wages, salaries, forces pay and transfer incomes, after taxation, increased by only 7 per cent., or very much less than the increase in the level of prices. Property under a Labour Government was able to raise its income to record heights. The real incomes of the mass of the people fell. These figures reveal in harsh experience the bankruptcy of Social Democracy.

Retreat Without Honour

As the crisis deepens, so the Ministers of Social Democracy grow more desperate and sound the retreat. The total effect of the capitalist and imperialist policy which they administer in practice produces very different consequences from the rosy platform pictures of previous reformist propaganda. Bevinism wrecks the home programme of social reconstruction. Social reform gives place to cuts. The doctrine of the " economics of plenty " gives place to the economics of scarcity and austerity. Translated from the easy hothouse atmosphere of preaching reformist illusions on the platform to the cold blast of capitalist realities, the Ministers of Social Democracy find themselves without plan or compass save to depend on their capitalist advisers for the rule of thumb solutions of capitalist economics—to place the burden on the workers. The former super-doctrinaire socialist of ten years ago, Cripps, who in the days of the united front with the Communist Party was anxious lest his socialist virginity should be contaminated by being seduced into support of such a capitalist institution as the League of Nations, becomes the apostle of the Federation of British Industries and the stern unbending hope of the City of London. Confronted with the pressing demands of their working class supporters, they turn to lecture them for their impossible expectations and for their failure to realise the gravity of the nation's crisis. They declare that the programme has now been fulfilled, and that the time has come to call a halt. The signal sounds for the retreat. Social Democracy has exhausted its mission. This is the moment reached by Scarborough.

Forward—Not Back

The lesson of Scarborough must be learned. The experience of the Third Labour Government must be made the basis, not for retreat and collapse, playing into the hands of Tory revival and even fascist emergence, but for new advance. But such advance can only be achieved through a determined fight against the existing Right Wing leadership, for a complete reversal of the existing suicidal policies.

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The representatives of Left opposition tendencies failed at Scarborough, because they have not yet voiced a clear common alternative programme, because they are not yet fighting as a united force, but above all, because they are not yet united with the mass movement in the country and still substitute a mechanical conception of unity under the domination of the Right Wing leadership for the living unity of the working class fight which can alone finally overcome the Right Wing leadership and policy. The voice of the Communist Party was excluded from Scarborough; but the political leadership of the Communist Party cannot be excluded from the life of the working-class movement, and the vindication of its policy and of its clear positive answers to the problems of the crisis is being confirmed by experience. The development of the crisis daily sharpens the necessity of the fight to win a majority for such a programme, to strengthen the fight for the wage demands of the workers, for peace, for a new policy. Scarborough has brought the most critical point since the General Election. The working-class movement, faced with the joint policies of Churchill and Bevin, of Cripps and the Federation of British Industries, is compelled to choose whether to press forward with the fight or to sink back into defeat. It is for the entire Left, for all supporters of socialism, for all the living forces of the Labour movement, whether Communist or in the Labour Party, to see that the answer shall be: Forward, not Back.

June 18, 1948. R. P. D.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into any correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

The articles in LABOUR MONTHLY *are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York City, U.S.A., as well as in the annual index in each December issue.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: *United Kingdom,* 12 *months* 12*s. Postage paid. Abroad,* 13*s. from* LABOUR MONTHLY, 134 *Ballards Lane, London, N.*3, or *from all leading wholesalers and bookshops.*

A stencilled Discussion Guide (3s a year post free) is available on the fifteenth of each month, to assist leaders of LABOUR MONTHLY *Discussion Groups to organise a fruitful discussion of the issues raised in the current issue. Questions are posed for discussion and suggestions for further reading. The Guide, however, must be ordered in advance, and should not be confused with the pamphlet "Organised Discussion" (2d) which gives hints on the formation of Discussion Groups.*

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"BEHIND THE DOLLAR CURTAIN"

By AMERICAN READERS

Recently we sent a letter to a number of United States citizens in various parts of that country, asking them to let us have press cuttings of Henry Wallace speeches, as the news black-out in the British press gave little indication of the true internal situation in the U.S.A. The replies we received were illuminating. We print a selection below from various cities and States. For obvious reasons we give no names. Anonymity is the only protection we can give to citizens of a country where personal freedom is so insecure.—Ed. L.M.

VERMONT:

"Wallace's speeches are very little reported here. You have little idea how sharp the anti-Wallace pressure is here. One college professor in Indiana was fired from his job for presiding at a Wallace meeting. Meetings have also been broken up by hoodlums." 15/5/48.

SAN FRANCISCO:

"We have a similar black-out of news right now regarding the impending passage of fascist legislation in the form of the Mundt-Nixon, so-called subversive activities Bill. I don't believe I am speaking for myself alone when I say that we progressives in the U.S. agree that there is nothing more important at present than keeping in touch with progressive opinion and developments in other countries." 19/5/48.

CHICAGO:

"It is my sober conclusion that we, here in America, are not far away from the imposition of a real fascist police state as a result of the Mundt-Nixon Bill. You will have seen how it went through the House of Representatives.

"The general temper of the times and the attendant hysterical mood (albeit artificially engendered) can be noted in these clippings. Control of the media of communication is so complete here that a dissident note on an essential issue is rare. The radio drones on daily with its moronic fare. The outlets here, in the mid-west, are particularly stupid and can be listened to only by imbeciles. It is amazing! The mass circulation magazines carry the 'Big Lie' method shamelessly. One magazine, 'Look', recently had an article by a clerical professor of business administration in the Roman Catholic University of Notre Dame (South Bend, Indiana), 'proving' that the 'Rich are getting Poorer' and using comparative 1929 and 1947 statistics to enforce his 'argument'. In the Steel Workers' Union (and many others) the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (A.C.T.U.) have effective cells and, with the officialdom largely in their hands, are able to use violence, mob tactics, 'goon squads'.

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and generally 'storm-trooper' tactics to smash opposition. On another level, the Catholic War Veterans perform similar services for reactionary forces. There are innumerable units and groups with a fascist outlook to 'take care' of non-Catholic workers. The vital problems affecting the workers, returned veterans, lower-middle class groups, academic groups and professionals generally, are no nearer solution. One observes a passive feeling of frustration, humbug, cant and hypocrisy and FEAR in many sectors.

"I could easily leave you with a picture which would be depressing and untrue. There is a strong desire for peace here, in spite of the effective propaganda of 'inevitability' of war. Monopolists and Imperialists have left no stone unturned to war-monger; to create a false, lurid, shocking picture; to manipulate thought and action. They have systematically spread rumour and 'hell-fire' doctrine. If the people have a heart made fat; ears which are heavy and eyes which are closed, the source is the ruling clique of unclean lips! They would sacrifice all for their dollars." 15/5/48.

VIRGINIA:

"I am of the opinion that the dim-out in the American press on Wallace's speeches is quite as widespread and effective as in Britain, if not a little more so. The local press quoted two or three paragraphs from Wallace's Madison Square Garden speech a couple of weeks ago —the one in which he read his Open Letter to Stalin. More space would be an admission of wide public interest." 26/5/48.

CALIFORNIA:

"I think that the *New York Times*, the *Daily Worker*, and the *People's World* (West Coast progressive daily) are just about the only newspapers in this country which publish Henry Wallace's speeches." 6/6/48.

OHIO:

"The State of Ohio is controlled by a Republican Machine of great wealth (industrialists, bankers and real estate operators). My friends are almost afraid to think for fear of losing their jobs. One of them is being discharged from the army. He is a Major of engineers. He says he wants to get home from the Philippines in time to vote for Henry Wallace. The major corporations are already planning their method of attack against labour, farmers, small business men, etc. They are aided and comforted by the Protestant and Catholic ministers and priests.

"Propaganada plays a vital role in making the masses think they think. Many of my Liberal friends are lost. They say the U.S.S.R. does all the propagandizing. I've been told to 'go back to Russia' for not thinking as they do. Some of the branches of my family tree are pre-Revolution. Those who tell me to 'go back' are first generation Americans." 14/5/48.

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PENNSYLVANIA:

"It is easy for me to appreciate the dearth of information available to the English public concerning Henry Wallace and their failure to find his speeches in the British press. A comparable situation exists in the United States; in fact, there is to my knowledge —though there may be one or two more—only one daily paper which prints his major speeches." 15/5/48.

NEW YORK:

"As to the progress of the Wallace movement here at this time, my own observation would be that it engenders tremendous enthusiasm among certain segments of the population—as witnessed for example by the capacity crowd of 19,000 that filled Madison Square Garden on May 11, paying from 60 cents to $4.80 a seat to get in and contributing in addition pledges and cash well in excess of $100,000 —an unprecedented thing for a political rally in this country.

"On the other hand the conspiracy of silence and lies that prevails in all the organs of propaganda—press, radio, film, as well as in the schools, etc.—is so complete as to make it extremely difficult for Wallace to reach the broad masses of the people with his analysis of the real issues facing us. Under the circumstances any electoral victories which this movement achieves—and it will surely achieve some—will represent a truly great accomplishment. Yours for peace and democracy." 14/5/48.

MICHIGAN:

"There was a fine rally here. Canada Lee, the coloured actor, talked about this being the first time that the Negroes had ever been an integral part of any party. His voice was full of emotion. I noticed particularly that any reference to doing away with Jim Crow was applauded by the whites as much as by the blacks. Of course, Wallace is not on the right track about Communism, but his open letter to Stalin takes courage in this hysterical atmosphere." 23/5/48.

CHICAGO:

"The news dim-out has, of course, its counterpart here in America. George Seldes wrote in January: 'The American press, which ranged from 75% to 95% against F.D.R., will be against Henry Wallace in even greater proportions. The anti-F.D.R. press not only editorialized against F.D.R. and the New Deal, but suppressed, distorted and faked the news, scientific researchers have shown. It takes no great foresight to predict that the press, with a few exceptions, will lie about Wallace, thus proving to the whole world that it is absolutely free.'

"This indictment was a mild preview of subsequent actions by all the agents of public information owned or controlled by the forces in America who are frightened at the rising People's Front. Consequently, you can see that I am almost as much of a victim as you in this news dim-out. Harold Laski has currently been in Chicago as

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a visiting lecturer. He is doing his bit to confuse American Liberals by depreciating the People's candidate—Henry Wallace. You will please call this gentleman home post-haste—we can do without him nicely!" 15/5/48.

FLORIDA:

"We are in terrible shape over here! If I were just a plain Liberal, I'd want to crawl into a hole somewhere, and pull it in after me, as so many have already done. The President and the leaders of both parties are pitiable in their confusion, and I know that like 'the dying rat', of which Mr. Dutt wrote, they can be dangerous in their desperation. But knowing what I do, this is no time to crawl into a hole, is it? Just now we are working against the infamous Mundt Bill. It doesn't outlaw the Communist Party. It just makes it impossible for it to function legally, and by its provisions for 'guilt by association' makes all other Liberal organisations impossible, too." 16/5/48.

CALIFORNIA:

"There is a conspiracy of silence against Mr. Wallace and his candidacy that reaches into all methods of communication; it is particularly noticeable in the newspapers and on the air. His public statements are either distorted editorially or suppressed entirely. If it were possible, I suppose they would give the man no space or time at all, to the end that when the public found his name on the ballot in November they would think him imaginary. But what he has to say is not in the least imaginary, and therefore he has been granted a sort of limited recognition, more for the purpose of jeering at him and his principles than anything else. His speeches have been buried among the sports, the obituaries, and the ads, and most generally on the air, his backers are able to buy radio-time at odd hours only (during the middle of the night, for instance), and then over none but the most obscure and least powerful stations. It goes without saying, of course, that any utterance of Mr. Dewey or Mr. Stassen, the leading candidates for the Republican nomination, can be heard when all the family is at home and at its liveliest. Last night, by way of example, these two coves ate up a solid hour of air-time debating the most effective method of exterminating Communism in America: Stassen was for outlawing it outright, and Dewey was for 'bringing it out into the open', where presumably it would wither and die. This great message was broadcast to the entire United States between the hours of 7 and 10 in the evening, but I listened in vain for a single reference to peace, justice, jobs, lower prices, anti-lynch bills, and housing. Mr. Wallace, who has a very strong program for all that and more, will no doubt come in over some desert or mountain station at three o'clock some morning next week, just when all my countrymen, of course, are glued to their radios! But not all such suppression and distortion is succeeding. The day before

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yesterday 32,000 people jammed a stadium here to listen to Mr. Wallace, with another 10,000 listening out in the streets over loudspeakers. It was the biggest political rally in the history of Los Angeles. And so it really is wherever the man goes. He is being listened to, he is being spoken of, he is being quoted by mouth after mouth, and he is picking up followers everywhere, not only when he speaks, but also when his rivals speak. The people are on to the gentleman Mr. Truman, and I think they're getting more and more 'hep' all the time. November is a long time away, and I say with confidence that while Mr. Wallace may not win, he'll roll up the largest protest vote since the nation was founded." 18/5/48.

Many letters—far too numerous to quote here—constantly refer to the news dim-out of the whole press " playing down the Wallace movement except for spectacular events, such as the arrest of Senator Taylor", the "biased reporting", the "distortion", the "witch-hunt hysteria", the "silent treatment", "few newspapers carry quotations at all", "the complete text very rarely printed". The story is the same in dozens of letters from New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, Ohio, Virginia —all over the 48 States.

THE MUNDT-NIXON BILL

("Subversive Activities Control Bill ")

From an address by HENRY WALLACE

Madison Square Garden, May 11, 1948

SINCE Roosevelt's death the forces of reaction have engaged in a creeping coup d'état by means of which the generals, the admirals, and the economic royalists have staged a step-by-step taking over of power. Now, to the accompaniment of continuous " red hunts " and the fear obligato of the press and radio, a coup d'état of far greater significance is being planned for the United States than has taken place in any country of Eastern Europe.

I speak in an alarmist way because that horrible monster, the House Un-American Committee, after ten years of labor has finally given birth to a child—a child known as the Mundt-Nixon Bill. It is not enough to threaten the loss of a job; it is not enough to hamstring labor through the loss of bargaining power occasioned by the Taft-Hartley Bill; it is not enough to rely on the ordinary methods of business reprisal and intimidation; it is not enough to dominate the major means of communication, both press and radio; it is not enough to stir up innocent boys to acts of violence.

Our present laws against treason and sabotage are adequate for a democracy, but they aren't adequate to establish a smoothly functioning police state. And so this monstrous Bill—the Mundt-Nixon Bill—has been introduced.

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Its objective is to frighten all the American people into conformity or silence. It would provide the power to destroy any organisation which has a single liberal thought. It is the greatest threat to free trade unions, academic freedom, scientific development and the progress of mankind which the enemies of progress in the United States have ever conceived.

While the Mundt-Nixon Bill is posed as an anti-communist bill, its real purposes have been openly proclaimed by the men who sponsor it—by the men of the Un-American Committee to whom everything democratic is "communistic." But if Representative Nixon, or any of the others, think that this legislation, that the threats of ten years' imprisonment will stop me or millions of others from fighting to preserve American democracy and build a stable, peaceful world—they are utterly wrong. Their threats, harassments, and incitements to violence can't stop the fight for peace.

The Mundt-Nixon Bill would be a serious blow to American democracy. Every American who believes in democracy must raise his voice in opposition to the Bill. It would be a serious blow to the fight of people the world over for peace and justice. But it will not stop that fight.

DESIGN FOR PEACE

By LEAH MANNING, M.P.

WITHOUT question the minds of men and of women today are filled with thoughts of war. In some minds such thoughts are intimately at home—in the mind of the predestined soldier, trained and ready to practise the arts of war; in the minds of the armament manufacturers to whom the thought of a world untrammelled by war and its bloody profits is horrifying; in the minds of those who do not see where they can turn in days of economic depression except to war and preparation for war. But in the mind of the common people such thoughts live uneasily. They form a perpetual monotonous undertone to all their days. They want to be rid of them, to live in a world free from the threat of recurrent wars, where they can love, marry, work, play, think, bring up their children, make a contribution to their times and arrive at a serene and peaceful old age.

To the first three groups war is inevitable. Their strategy for waging it is complete. Two recent full page articles in *The Observer* show how far this "war preparedness" has gone. They are based on the assumption that war with Russia is an immediate danger and that consequently the whole economy of Western Europe will have to function with the single-minded purpose of a war economy for the next two or three years—directed trade, allocation of raw materials

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and factory space, and remobilised man-power. That is indeed the language of war planning.

In the recent Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons, the same ideas were plainly discernible in the speeches made by the officer class which took part in the last war. A modern Maginot Line, 800 miles long, stretching from Stettin in the N.W. to Trieste in the S.E., holds no terrors for them. Why should it? It corresponds to the " Iron Curtain " in their minds; it will give their friends remunerative employment for years to come and relieve them from the tedious boredom of peaceful days.

To the Glenn Martins of the world with their bigger, better and more beautiful atom bombs, their 1948 models that will make a quick, neat job of the next war, with victory in the bag in 90 days; their bacteria-laden clouds dropping death and destruction on the mob beneath, it is little more than a Walt Disney fantasia.

But to the mind of the common man it is an ever-deepening terror. When he allows it to come out of the background, into the forefront of his mind it has a nightmare-ish quality, for he looks every way and does not see how he is to escape. He has not yet learned that Governments may plan to make wars, but if the voice of the people is heard with sufficient strength and conviction, no plan will ever come into the realm of practical politics.

What then must we do about it? What have we to set against the plans of the war-mongers? What forces can we mobilise? What is our immediate tactic, what our over-all strategy? What is our grand design for peace?

Oh ye of little faith, everywhere in the world today, the forces that are working with us—for peace, are greater than the forces that are working against us—for war. But the forces of peace must be mobilised, so let us review them. Take the women of the world first. Let but one woman raise her voice on behalf of peace and immediately from every corner of the earth, from every class, creed, age and colour comes a flood of encouragement, hope and a fervent desire to help. This is no volatile emotionalism, it is evidence of a deep biological need to safeguard the future of the race. Women in whose bodies the seed of life develops to the perfection of the tiny human being are not content to stand aside any longer and watch that perfection reduced to a slough of radio-active mud.

Neither is this a vague aspiration towards peace. The women want to help in the mobilisation of the peace forces, to educate the less instructed; to make their governments hear the voices of the people. The various women's organisations, national and international, are determined to end this threat of war; to turn their energies to the real problems of human betterment—adequate diets, housing, health and education.

Look East; look West. There we shall find two other great forces which can be mobilised for peace. All who have travelled in Eastern

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Europe, whether they accept the ideologies of Communism or not, are agreed upon one thing—that there exists an overwhelming urge for peace and reconstruction. These two are indivisible. The appalling destruction of the last war, the exhaustion of the people who fought with such grim determination is apparent to the most superficial visitor. That there is a new tide of vitality in countries like Poland and Yugoslavia, which have not hitherto known freedom, is also apparent. But this vitality is flowing strongly into channels of reconstruction. It demands peace to rebuild shattered lives, shattered physical assets and shattered economies.

What of the U.S.A.? True, Press and Radio are strongly mobilised for war. Day in, day out, they blare unceasingly their gospel of hate. Nevertheless, there is a strong tide pulling against all this warmongering that cannot be discounted. What is the Third Party but a Peace Party? The day has passed when the press can ignore Henry Wallace. He can no longer be either laughed off or shrugged off. Believing, as many Americans do, that both Republicans and Democrats, in their rearmament policy are leading the country straight to a Third World War, they have no alternative but to vote for Wallace. Wallace has reached that vague, unformed hope in the minds of the little men of his country, that somehow or other we *can* find a basis for peace and security in a reasonable world.

This then is the great " Peace Army " which must be mobilised to defend the peace. How great it is and what an immense support it has in the aspirations and deepest longings of the peoples of every country was dramatically revealed when the Soviet-American diplomatic exchanges took place in the month of May.

The effect of these exchanges (published May 10th) was electrifying. Everywhere throughout the world the peoples were stirred. Everywhere men and women were talking to one another of the new hope that had arisen—not least in the United States where there was a fury of excited comment—not least in the Soviet Union where, as a correspondent tells us, men and women in the streets of Moscow were eagerly reading and discussing these diplomatic notes and voicing their hopes that it would lead to stable peace. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his " whole-hearted welcome " was the voice of humanity when he said on May 11 " All peoples everywhere must hope that such discussions will be conducted in the earnest desire to reach agreement."

Although these hopes were not destined to meet immediate fulfilment, although the wavering policy of the Truman administration was shown in declarations by the President and by Mr. Marshall that they would not immediately proceed with discussions, nevertheless the attempts of some British newspapers to treat the matter as thereby wound-up and finished were altogether wrong. For in the next stage the initiative passed to Henry Wallace, who the same week published an " Open Letter to Premier Stalin," in which he said the

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Bedell Smith and Molotov Notes " represent a great hope for those of us who have consistently maintained that peace was possible, and they represent a severe blow to the propagandists on both sides who insisted that the two nations could not live at peace in the same world. Both letters assume what we have long contended—that the wartime co-operation between the two great Powers can be rebuilt and strengthened in peacetime," and went on to propose a series of *concrete measures* for peace, beginning with " General reduction of armaments—outlawing of all methods of mass destruction."

The importance of this " Open Letter " (largely ignored in the British Press) was seen when it brought, on May 17, an appreciative reply from Stalin, who treated it as a step forward.

Whatever governments may do or not do in the immediate future, all these exchanges have brought to the peoples strong hopes which they will never allow to be darkened. To me it was the world-wide response of the peoples, of men and women like yourself and myself, that was the most encouraging feature of these happenings in May. It is on this that we can base our great Design for Peace.

Pascal said, " Opinion is the real ruler of the world." In starting our fight for peace, today—this summer, let us build up and mould public opinion the way we believe will lead to peace; let us force our opinion upon the attention of our Governments.

THE WAR DANGER

By WILLIAM RUST

DURING recent weeks the international situation has been marked by a number of events indicative of the superior power of the democratic camp and markedly revealing the antagonisms within the imperialist camp. Considerable initiative has passed into the hands of the democratic forces, but it must be said that the cold war waged by the imperialists continues unabated. This is shown especially in the decision of the Six-Power Conference to establish a West German State with the primary purpose of using the Ruhr industries as the war arsenal of the so-called Western Union.

The Soviet-American exchanges which began in May had a salutary effect on public opinion and succeeded in relieving world tension. Although nothing concrete in the way of negotiations has come out of these approaches it has nevertheless been publicly demonstrated that the differences between the two greatest Powers in the world are not irreconcilable and that the Soviet Union is willing to enter into direct talks in order to solve all outstanding questions. That in itself is a great plus. Masses of people, especially in the U.S., who were previously doubtful, confused or antagonistic, can now clearly see the peace role of the Soviet Government.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the exchanges between

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Moscow and Washington constitute a diplomatic triumph for the Soviet Government, and a moral defeat for the Americans who, apparently, decided to fly a private peace kite in Moscow but without the slightest intention of making any fundamental changes in their foreign policy.

Mr. Marshall may have thought that it would be of some advantage in the course of the presidential campaign to be able to declare that his Ambassador in Moscow had informed Mr. Molotov of the State Department's unsullied desire for peace, but he hardly calculated that Mr. Molotov would take him at his word, radio this statement to the whole world and put forward a proposition for the immediate opening up of negotiations. From this followed the Stalin letter to Henry Wallace in which he welcomed the programme put forward by the latter as "a good and fruitful basis" for Soviet-American agreement, and the lame reply of Mr. Marshall that the "specific issues listed in Premier Stalin's statement are not bilateral issues between this country and the Soviet Union."

From there on the world has been presented with the engaging spectacle of Mr. Marshall saying repeatedly "No" in answer to Mr. Molotov's insistent "Yes". It is to be expected that the Soviet Union will continue to press its advantage and that embarrassed American politicians will not escape fresh overtures from the Soviet Government.

The Soviet attitude, it should be emphasised, is based on the fundamental Marxist belief that war between the capitalist and Socialist system is not inevitable. This conception was again repeated in the Stalin letter to Wallace when he again declared that:

> Despite the difference in the economic systems and ideologies, the co-existence of these systems and a peaceful settlement of differences between the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America are not only possible but also undoubtedly necessary in the interests of a general peace.

Coincident with these American manœuvres important differences have come to light in the camp of the imperialists. Mr. Bevin made no attempt to control his anger that he had not been consulted beforehand regarding Mr. Marshall's talks with Moscow thereby revealing that Britain's foreign policy is based upon what pickings can be derived from the continuance of antagonism between the Soviet Union and the U.S.

The subordinate position of Britain in relation to the two world giants has been most clearly demonstrated in relation to the war in Palestine which has caused a certain strain to arise between London and Washington. The Middle East is one of the main centres of the Anglo-American antagonism and a sharp fight is being waged between the oil interests of both countries and for the establishment of the hegemony of the U.S. in this centre of world communications.

The Arab-Jewish war may be directly attributed to the policy of both imperialist powers. Both have defied the decisions of the United Nations and have helped to bring about a situation giving encourage-

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ment to the Arab aggressors. Bevin has armed the Arabs and incited them to attack Israel. Marshall, on the other hand, has recognised Israel but has shown no disposition to bring the war to a speedy end probably because he believes that a weakened Jewish State will be a more pliable instrument of American policy.

In the end, Britain will have to accept a subordinate position in the Middle East in relation to the U.S., but the British imperialists are resisting this development and also sacrificing not a few Arab and Jewish lives in the process.

The British Empire, including Britain itself, has become a primary object of American expansion; there is a far greater circulation of American goods in the Empire countries than before the war. And despite the fact that the Churchill-Bevin foreign policy is based on the acceptance of the "junior partnership" position, British imperialism hardly enjoys the embraces of the American python especially as it is also fearful of a Soviet-American rapprochement which would be greatly to Britain's disadvantage.

It is therefore noticeable that although Britain fully subordinates itself to American policy in Europe and organises Western Union for the purposes of the anti-Soviet war, she also cherishes the conception that Western Union may possibly be developed into a third world force which can be used for anti-American purposes as well. This development is to be achieved through the association of the Dominions with Western Union.

This view was expressed by Bevin at the Scarborough Conference of the Labour Party and was also the leading motive of the Empire Day speech of General Smuts which he delivered shortly before his defeat by the pro-American nationalists in the South African general election.

This defeat is the best possible commentary on the speech, for there could have been no better demonstration of the unreality of the view that Western Union could be turned into a World Third Force. Under Malan, S. Africa will now orientate itself on the U.S., following in the path of Canada. Eire may be discounted as an effective force and thus Britain is left with Australia and New Zealand. India is, of course, officially described as a Dominion, but so far it plays no independent role in foreign affairs, has no special relation to Europe and still remains under British control.

Apart from the general anti-Communist sentiments of the leading politicians of Australia and New Zealand, neither country is attracted by the political and economic inducements of Western Union; indeed, they appear to think that it may result in the re-direction of Britain's trade at the expense of the Empire countries and the involving of Britain in warfare not directly relating to her imperial interests.

These two Dominions also fear that America's bid to restore Japan as part of a drive to monopolise the markets of China and S.E. Asia will have disastrous effects upon their export trade.

The prospects for Mr. Bevin's third world force are not all roses.

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In point of fact, British foreign policy is resulting in the further weakening of this country's international position and placing it more securely in the grip of the U.S. and its war plans.

The alarm in Government circles over the proposal of American Congress to cut Marshall aid by 26 per cent. reveals the extent of British dependability on the U.S. and the fear that this aid is uncertain and cannot be relied upon. The dominant reactionary elements in Congress are, of course, not out to smash the European Recovery Programme which establishes America's grip in Europe, but they most certainly believe in scaling down the supply of American dollars as a means of bringing pressure on the European countries to accept a position of even greater servility.

This fight within the American millionaire camp should not be regarded as expressing serious differences on policy. The differences will certainly be composed and the bipartisan war preparations driven ahead. The most likely result is that the emphasis in the Marshall plan on food and raw materials as against machinery and capital goods will be still further accentuated. This will be accompanied by even more vigorous demands on the side of the Americans for control over British internal financial and trade policies. This fight is now on and Britain will have to sign the final pact by July 3rd.

The dominant role of the U.S. in the running of European affairs is shown by the way in which its views were forced on Six-Power Conference on Germany, in spite of the prolonged resistance put up by France.

The decisions of this Conference are the clearest proof that the imperialist war plans are being driven ahead without pause. Washington has frequently rejected the Soviet proposals for the drawing up of a peace treaty with Germany as a whole and for the setting up of an all-German Government which could establish the political and economic unity of the country.

Instead, the course is now clearly set for the final partition of Germany, the restoration of that country's war potential and through a policy of collaboration with the former Nazi industrialists.

But it must be noted that these proposals are meeting with considerable popular resistance. In Germany, 13,000,000 signed the people's petition in favour of a united, democratic Germany, and even reactionaries are not anxious to appear as the upholders of partition.

In France, the popular opposition is so widespread that a plebiscite would throw out the proposals with a huge majority. The French masses fear that their country can be overrun for the fourth time by the Germans, and they know that they stand under a terrible menace unless the vast industries of the Ruhr are brought under democratic control. Pierre Cot's warning in the Chamber that the creation of two Germanys planted new seeds of discord in Europe was widely applauded.

The political activity of the wide masses in opposition to the plans of the warmongers is now to be seen in all countries and is an important

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feature of the international situation. In fact, the coming into action of millions of American citizens against their own warmongers is the most important new development of the political situation in that country.

Having broken with the Democratic Party, Henry Wallace has emerged as the leader of a third party which is rapidly growing in strength. Even his enemies accord him five to six million votes in the presidential elections while his own supporters enthusiastically proclaim that he will get ten or twelve million.

The Wallace movement is a peace movement. It is the upholder of the Roosevelt tradition. Wallace is the living embodiment of the truth of the Stalin contention that the two world systems can peacefully co-exist.

Whatever its outcome, Wallace's presidential campaign will demonstrate to millions that there is an alternative peace policy to the war policy of the Democrats and Republicans; his challenge is opening the way to an ending of the two-party system in the United States and bringing millions of people into independent political activity in opposition to the party bosses who for so long have ruled the roost.

It is not only because of the urgency of the situation, but also because there are such favourable prospects for the enforcement of the people's will for peace that the Editorial Board of the *Daily Worker* has decided to call a Conference for World Peace in London on July 17th. The main speakers will be the Dean of Canterbury and Dr. Alex Wood, of the National Peace Council.

The chief purpose of the Conference is to create a forum for the clarification of ideas regarding the causes of the war danger and, above all, to provide a rallying centre for all sincere upholders of peace and the starting point of a great Peace Campaign around which, irrespective of political differences on other issues, millions of people will gather.

Delegates will be free to speak on many matters which they consider of vital importance to the subject under discussion, and it is not intended to adopt resolutions or to commit the organisations represented to views that may be expressed.

These safeguards should ensure that the Conference will not consist only of the Left, but will be a broadly representative gathering, not limiting itself to an analysis of the current international situation, but concentrating with great zeal on what the people must do in order to bar the road to the warmongers.

Undoubtedly, the Conference will reach a number of practical conclusions on what is to be done to drive ahead with the Peace Campaign, and it may be possible to set up a representative committee for the continuation of the work of the Conference. But these are matters to be decided when the delegates assemble. Sufficient to say now that the Conference promises to be one of the most representative gatherings of progressive opinion yet held in Britain.

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TWO IMPRESSIONS OF SCARBOROUGH CONFERENCE

I.—By STEVE LAWTHER*

MEETING a prominent Trade Union member of the Labour Party National Executive on the Scarborough promenade on Whit-Saturday, I asked him his opinion of conference. He replied, " It will be the flattest conference for years."

Conference reaction to two references by Shinwell in his competent presidential address gave some indication of the success of the sustained anti-Left drive. His warning to the so-called rebels that the party would not tolerate " political private enterprise " was received with applause. His reference to the " epic of Stalingrad and the valour and endurance of our Russian comrades " was received in silence.

What was thought to be the preliminary skirmishing on the first day of conference proved to be the best efforts of the critics. Zilliacus in moving back the section of the Report on " Socialist Information and Liaison Office " was supported by a number of delegates. Mrs. Lane's outspoken criticism on the fall in individual membership brought on her head the wrath of the chair for "providing the enemy with ammunition". Thus early were revealed the tactics of the managers of conference. Some aspects of our policy may stink, but please don't disturb the carcase. Monday also saw the Divisional Labour Parties' support for Platts-Mills to be heard overwhelmed by the bloc votes of the big Trade Unions.

Nothing showed more clearly the platform control of conference than the side stepping of any discussion on the British staged war in Palestine. Mr. Rosetti (Jewish Labour Party) was very conciliatory when he raised the matter on report. When he referred to Spitfires bombing Tel-Aviv a voice cried out "What about American planes"?

Morrison appeared conciliatory in reply. The Labour Party had always supported a Jewish National home in Palestine. He did not want to say anything that would embitter the present situation and hoped for an early solution of the problem. It was a tragedy that a lone Jewish voice had to make the appeal for the new State of Israel in a Labour Party conference that was tainted with anti-semitism.

Thursday morning was devoted to the debate on Foreign Policy. Zilliacus in his limited time made a good case for the lengthy Gateshead amendment to the official resolution moved by Lawther on behalf of the miners. Bevin spoke for an hour in defence of his policy and took us on one of his familiar Cook's tours. On this

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occasion the Middle East was missing from the itinerary. Bevin studiously ignored Laski's damning indictment of his Palestine policy in the current issue of the *Forward* distributed to the delegates the previous day, and Laski, who had been re-elected to the Executive, sat silent to the amazement of many delegates. Every day of conference Spitfires were bombing Tel-Aviv. To the disgrace of the movement this fact was never mentioned. Nor were the Stalin-Wallace letters mentioned. What a commentary on our boosted Western Way of Life!

Deacon and Lawther both spoke a number of times and appeared to convey the attitude, you can think and say what you like, but we hold the votes and it is we who will decide. Each time they spoke conference was more resentful, and on one occasion Deacon was literally howled down. A prominent Labour M.P. once said, "Be there a struggle twixt Tees and Tweed, there will be a Lawther at the head of it, a Lawther bringing up the rear and the rest of the family somewhere between". Had he been at Scarborough he would surely have placed Big Brother Will in the rear category.

Youth was conspicuous by its absence.

Morrison is still the most adroit politician in the Labour Party.

Aneurin Bevan can still be put up to raise the drooping spirits by his rhetoric.

The anti-Left drive will not solve the problems confronting the Government. Zilliacus stood up and fought at every opportunity. The experience of conference must have taught him that standing alone he is fighting a losing battle. The critics must get together and fight as an organised team. By so doing they can ensure that Scarborough may be the last conference of the tame variety.

II.—By TOM GITTINS*

MY impressions of the Scarborough Conference? Offhand, I should say it was a middle-aged Conference, hoping for the best, fearing the worst and suffering from a bad conscience.

In face of the economic drift at home and a developing war situation abroad, how did Conference react? On the whole it was submissive and restrained, sober and obedient. In only two instances, and these on relatively minor issues, did it vote against the platform. It listened without obvious disapproval, if not with enthusiasm, to Morrison's plea for a legislative pause and the consolidation of our "socialist" gains; to Jim Griffiths' passionate arguments that the workers are not yet sufficiently trained to play a more dominant part in the nationalised industries; to Dalton's explanation of the difference between wage-freezing and wage standstill and to the need for the

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profit incentive in the private sector of industry; to Bevin's deflated and fatuous anti-Soviet excuses for his Tory foreign policy.

In what terms can this attitude of Conference be explained?

First, I think we should recognise that the British working-class movement as yet lacks a sound scientific basis for its socialist thinking. It is more liberal than Marxist. Its loyalty is in terms of persons rather than of principles.

Secondly, the feeling was evident that the ranks should be closed and splits avoided, in face of the forthcoming vital Election of 1950.

The Unions were anxious to express their gratitude and support for a Government which had carried out long-overdue measures of nationalisation and of social legislation. The Mineworkers' resolution of support for the Government in all fields was nothing more than a vote of thanks for limited gains.

But it would be a tremendous mistake to underrate the forces of opposition which, while having little chance of expression at the Conference, are growing in the movement. The block vote disguises a formidable weight of discontent and disillusion in the Trade Unions.

The vital work of this year is to organise this opposition, to consolidate the forces of the Left in the Labour movement, to achieve weight and hitting power. As the consequences of the Government's foreign policy become more apparent, and the chickens come home to roost, those who are loyal to their socialist principles, and to peace, will attract to their side growing numbers of the rank and file.

Scarborough was loyal to the leadership; Blackpool must be loyal to socialism.

There is a great task to do and but a short time to do it in. For in politics we must not only be right—we must be right in time!

THE WAGE FREEZE

By JIM GARDNER

HOWEVER much members of the Government and leaders of the Labour and Trade Union movement may shut their eyes to the fact of the deep-rooted hostility among the workers to a policy which offers freezing of wages as a primary means of a solution to Britain's economic crisis, it nevertheless exists. By a card vote of 5,421,000 to 2,032,000 the Conference of Trade Union Executives held on 24th March last endorsed the report of the T.U.C. General Council on Prices, Wages and Exports containing a recommendation to accept the principles of the Government White Paper on Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices, provided they retain unimpaired, systems of collective bargaining, admit claims for increases based on increased production, or where incomes fall below reasonable subsistence or in undermanned essential industries, recognise the need to safeguard differentials, and on condition that the Government pursues a vigorous

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policy designed to reduce profits and prices. That this decision does not represent the mood of the rank and file is very evident from the reports of a number of trade union annual conferences held since the March meeting of Executives, and the reason is not difficult to understand.

A policy of freezing wages is positively at variance with the constant urge for increased production and can become a serious deterrent to the production effort. None of the qualifications contained in the recommendations of the T.U.C. General Council give assurance that increased production will result in an improvement of living standards. Yet the greatest incentive for increased production is in how far the pay packet permits of a decent standard of living, measured in sufficient food and clothing, reasonable comforts in the home, opportunity for some enjoyment for the children and for their educational advancement, a night at the pictures, an outing with the family at the weekend, a holiday in the summer, and an occasional refreshment. These are simple but vital needs and not all of them obtainable for the majority of working class families on existing wage standards.

Not a few of the simple pleasures of working people have been lost by a decrease in purchasing power of the pay packet in recent times—a smoke or a glass of beer are luxuries obtainable at a sacrifice or to be done without altogether by many workers. Coupons and points are surplus, not to requirements but to the capacity of the weekly income in many households, and much of this is due to the Government's own Budgetary policy. All of it expresses a lowering of working class standards while the wealthy are still able to indulge themselves without stint.

The facts of a lowering standard are confirmed in the comparative increases in prices and wages since 1938, and in the official cost-of-living index figures. Wholesale prices in December, 1947, stood at 200 as against 100 in 1938 and this is reflected in shop prices. The cost-of-living index shows an increase of 8 per cent. since June, 1947. It is precisely because the workers know these facts by the hard way of trying to make wages buy as much as a year or more ago that the policy of freezing wages is so bitterly resented. Resentment deepens with the accumulation of certain goods in the shops which are urgently needed in the home but which the workers cannot afford to buy.

If, as was said by the Prime Minister, production costs depend on the amount industry pays in profits, salaries and wages, it is pertinent to enquire how these payments are distributed. Of the total National Income in 1947, wages represent 44 per cent., salaries 19 per cent., and profits 36 per cent. (Budget White Paper, 1948). Any threat to the stability of the £ from too much money chasing too few goods can only come from the people with the money surplus to their normal reasonable requirements and they are not the workers. These people are to be found in the relatively small group who take 36% of the

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National Income in profits out of industry, many of them also drawing quite substantial salaries. Yet despite the promise implicit in the T.U.C. General Council's recommendation to the Conference of Executives there is no evidence that the Government intends to pursue a policy designed to reduce profits or prices. A voluntary stabilisation of profits at the high 1947 level and an imposed freezing of wages at the relatively low 1947 level, destroying any prospect of narrowing the gap, will hardly enthuse the workers to greater efforts in the production drive. Its only effect is to destroy the one really effective incentive for higher productivity.

When this presentation is examined more closely it contains a threat highly analogous to the Baldwin declaration preceding the 1926 General Strike that, "the wages of all workers must come down". Price, we are told, is decisive in a situation when, with the narrowing down of the seller's market, it is becoming more difficult to maintain our exports, and the possibility of achieving Government export targets is becoming more doubtful. Confronted also with increasing prices for our imports from the hard currency countries, the targets themselves, even if it were possible to reach them, would not balance our overseas trading accounts.

If price is to be made competitive in this situation in order to increase our exports, on the Government's presentation it would suggest not only a wage freeze but a wage reduction. This is the price the workers may be asked to pay for the Government's policy of cutting Capital expenditure.

If such a situation does arise in the months to come, and the danger is very real, resentment against the wage freeze will be transformed into bitter resistance against wage reductions. Whether these issues can be avoided depends on how speedily Government policy is readjusted to the basic Socialist principles set out in the 1945 Election Programme of the Labour Party, "Let Us Face the Future".

It may be questioned if even that Programme is adequate in the present situation, but at least it did propose a plan for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our industries. In keeping with this policy, the engineering unions submitted proposals for an engineering plan within the framework of an over-all economic plan, having in mind the decisive part that engineering must play in modernising all our basic industries. Planned production on the basis of the most efficient technique and with the most modern equipment is the alternative to wage freezing or wage cutting since price can be greatly influenced by making industry more productive. Britain's industries can be made competitive on this basis if service to the people is the motive and wages made the first charge on production.

Engineering itself needs modernising and reorganising if it is to service all our other industries. Machine tools marked for export ought to be redirected to replace some of the worn, outdated machine tools in many of our engineering shops. A modernised, highly productive engineering industry will increase the tempo of recon-

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struction generally and is the key to increased productivity in other industries. Increased production of coal can be greatly accelerated by the speedy supply of mining machinery and equipment. Production of iron and steel can likewise be speedily increased. It takes eighteen months to build a blast furnace, not because it requires that time for its construction, but because of the time it takes to bring forward to the site the blowing and electrical equipment and the refractories. Similarly coke ovens can only be brought into production in three years because of the time factor in getting the components and equipment from engineering.

By a concentration of resources the building of blast furnaces and coke ovens could have been speeded up, and a great deal less would have been heard about scrap and other shortages in recent months. The founding industry is faced with a situation when, having recruited labour on a production programme, it is now threatened by shortage of raw materials. It has a labour force equal to the programme but in excess of the production possible on the basis of the raw materials available. Had the blast furnaces and the coke ovens been built more speedily, this situation would not have arisen and the prospectives for the foundry, for engineering and for industry as a whole would have been brighter. When production is held up in one section it affects the whole, and particularly is this so when the basic industries are affected. Shortage of raw materials delays the castings for the capital equipment, of which one or other of our industries is in desperate need.

Given the materials, the cast and forged components, engineering on the basis of a plan can produce the machinery to modernise our industries for greater productivity and for higher wages. Jack Tanner in his presentation of the engineering claim for an increase in wages on 14th April last quoted Sir George Schuster as saying, " Sweeping generalisations are dangerous, but leading Industrialists have recently spoken of a 20% over-all increase (in productivity—J.G.) as easily possible". In actual fact, by the mechanisation of certain production in the foundry, a 50% increase in productivity has been obtained, and the founding industry is perhaps still the most backward technically in engineering. An intensive programme for reorganising and modernising founding and engineering, such as can only be undertaken in a nationally controlled industry, could open up production perspectives beyond anything yet contained in the most optimistic of Government targets.

Many wage claims are at present under consideration. In the forefront at the present moment stands the engineers' claim for a minimum of £5 for the so-called unskilled and a £5 15s minimum for skilled labour. The rejection of this claim by the employers has now made this the pivotal issue of the whole wage situation. At the same time, agriculture, with a £4 10s minimum for a highly skilled occupation and one most vital to the nation, seeks to increase this to £5 10s. Other wage claims equally modest all share the same difficulty of

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having to overcome the Government's stand-still policy which, in the event of a refusal from the employers, cancels out any hope of the case being considered on its merits by an Arbitration Court and the whole machinery for collective bargaining and negotiations is thereby placed in jeopardy.

Free private enterprise always works the same way whatever Government is in power. The laws of capitalist development do not change because a Labour Government nationalises a few basic industries and introduces very desirable improvements in the social services. Indeed, the very achievements of the Labour Government, together with its long term programme of full employment and social advance, is in deadly danger from its own immediate policy. Unless the Government makes a change to implement its election promises by bringing industry under its direct control with the aim of an over-all economic plan in which the workers share in its execution and control, the wages struggle is bound to assume new and sharper forms, and increased productivity will bring a very different result to that held out in the perspectives of the Government programme.

Every wage claim could be met and new higher living standards assured by way of a planned economy giving to the people a new confidence in the future and a new social consciousness in the present. The other way, i.e., the capitalist way, can only bring disillusionment and disaster.

100 Years Ago

THE NEW RHENISH GAZETTE FIGHTS BACK

Marx, busily engaged in editing the second month of the "New Rhenish Gazette", and having also to devote time and energy to raising funds for its continuance, carried on a controversy with the "Cologne Gazette" which had slandered the June Revolution. On 21st July at a meeting of the Democratic Society in Cologne he was elected to the Rhineland-Westphalia District Committee of the Democratic Society.

Already in July the State authorities began to take action against the "New Rhenish Gazette", foreshadowing the heavy attacks to come. On July 5th, Karl Marx and the Manager of the paper were given notice of proceedings to be taken by the Cologne Public Prosecutor on the grounds of alleged libel and insult of the police in a description of the latter's brutal and irregular action in the arrest of two German democrats. Marx replied in the newspaper on July 7, maintaining his charges, and declaring:

"The press has, not only the right, but the duty to exercise the most scrupulous supervision of the people's representatives . . . .

"What was always permitted (in France and Belgium) under the Ministries of Gizot and Rogier is not to be permitted in a monarchy that rests on the broadest democratic foundation? A right which no Ministry of the French Restoration contested becomes a crime under

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the Ministry of Action, which recognises the revolution as a matter of principle? . . . The Ministry of the Left Centre has in a few days been transformed into a clear-cut old-Prussian reactionary Ministry. . . .

"We have just learnt that the *New Rhenish Gazette* is barred from coming into the remand prison. Do the prison regulations provide any justification for this ban? Or are those accused of political offences condemned to the punishment of having to read exclusively the *Cologne Gazette*?"

A GARHWALI HERO SPEAKS

[*One of the most remarkable incidents of the Indian struggle for independence in* 1930, *following Gandhi's march to the sea "to make contraband salt", was the refusal of two platoons of the* 18*th Royal Garhwali Rifles to fire on the people of Peshawar, who had taken control of that capital city of the North West Province and who retained full control for ten days. These Garhwali troops refused to obey the order to fire on their fellow countrymen, broke ranks and fraternized. The subsequent Court Martial imposed savage sentences. But ever since then Peshawar Day has been celebrated in India and its participants acclaimed as heroes of the national struggle. From one of them, who it may be remarked is not a member of the Communist Party (as falsely alleged in the warrant reproduced below), we have received the following letter.—Ed. L.M.*]

Please find time to go through the accompanying copy of the warrant under which I was lately arrested—though now released—and judge it for yourself, in the light of these few lines, how far I deserved such treatment.

I am at present running the 59th year of my life. Though young in heart and desirous to efface myself in the service of humanity, my old frame, rendered weaker by long term of imprisonment, cannot keep pace with my aspirations. All that happened at Peshawar in the year 1930 is a matter of history now. I was then hanging between life and death. It was the wish of the Almighty that I should remain on earth for some more years so I was not hanged or shot dead then, though I had to remain in prison for 14 years. I thought that I had been spared to serve humanity and I was encouraged in this by the fact that my humble service at Peshawar had been recognised by great Indians like the late lamented Father of the Indian Nation and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.

On my release I plunged myself in the service of the downtrodden. I had not to go far to find a field for my activities; my district (Garhwal), perhaps the most neglected part of the whole of India, served me for one. On my arrival I found people here in the grip of severe famine, so I busied myself in procuring food for them. I also started a co-operative movement here so that people may rely more on self help than on external aid. For the development of the most backward part of the district I started a movement for the formation of a new Tahsil there. I also worked strenuously for communal peace during the disturbances that followed the partition of India, and by God's grace I was successful in all that I took in hand so far.

My present troubles began from the time when I gave out my intention to contest a membership in the last District Board election as an independent candidate. Overnight I was painted in the darkest hue by those who opposed my candidature and had an approach to the local authorities. In order to keep me away from my constituents I was jailed even before the time of filing nomination papers and the darkest part of the whole episode is the absurdity of the grounds on which I was detained in jail.

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One of the grounds is that I am "an ex-convict of the Mutiny of 2/18th R.G.R. Bareilly in Peshawar". I am that, that I am; and if I have got to be hanged for it, let our National Government complete the task of their white predecessors by taking me to the gallows. Let me be condemned as one who retarded the pace of India's freedom. I shall then file my appeal before the Poojya Bapu and the other illustrious dead and ask them to give a judgment on the doings of those who are now enjoying the fruits of the doings of those who are now no more. But, for Heaven's sake let not Peshawar Day be observed in India any more.

The other ground is that "I incited the ex-I.N.A. personnel of Kumaun Division against Government". When and how? There is not the slightest evidence or the remotest possibility of my having been in contact with Netaji's movement or the ex-I.N.A. personnel. Truth should not have been butchered like this! But supposing that I did all this, then it was done in noble company and let us all be tried and condemned for our actions in standing against the ex-Government in so many ways.

I have never been to Gorakhpur for the last two years, so I fail to understand how a charge for violent speech has been invented against me. The notice is so clumsily drafted that it does not even correctly mention the names of my village and patti. Yet I was detained quite all right. I was subsequently released only a few days before the election, when my adversaries had poisoned the voters against me in so many ways. What heavens would have fallen if I had been returned as a District Board member!

However, I am not so much concerned with the District Board Membership as with the blot that has now been cast on the Peshawar case. I and my comrades were never defended by any public body or persons during our court-martial trial. Most of my then companions are no more on this earth now and those of us who are still living have never pressed our claims for any pensions or gratuity except once in January last for which we received no reply. We were so far satisfied with the idea that our countrymen regarded us as patriots. But this notice has disillusioned us.

I humbly seek your co-operation, as also that of the other leaders and the Press, to demand from our National Government a clear statement of their policy towards the Peshawar case and those who, like myself, took part in it. If the Government stick to what has been mentioned in the notice then the only course open to me is to end this life or dishonour by fasting unto death. If I do not receive satisfactory reply from the Government before the 15th August, 1948, then I shall commence my fast on that day at a suitable place in the hope of joining the company of those who appreciated my work.

Yours, the same Mutineer,

CHANDRA SINGH GARHWALI.

Pauri, Garhwal, India,

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

Confidential Department

No. B.2986 (1) XXV/CX

Dated Lucknow, April 8, 1948.

NOTICE under Section 5 of the United Provinces Maintenance of Public Order (Temporary) Act, 1947 (Act. No. IV, of 1947).

In pursuance of the provisions of Section 5 of the United Provinces Maintenance of Public Order (Temporary) Act, 1947, You, Gandra Singh, s/o Jothli Singh, r/o Akraura, Papalsyun, District Garhwal, are informed that the grounds for your detention are that you are an active worker of the Communist Party. You are an ex-convict of the Mutiny of 2/18th R.G.R., Bareilly, in Peshawar. You incited the ex-I.N.A. personnel of Kumaun Division against Government. In a speech in Gorakhpur you provoked the public to assault a police reporter. Your actions are highly prejudicial to public safety and Maintenance of law and order.

2. You are further informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained; if you wish to make a representation you should address it to Government through the Superintendent of the Jail as soon as possible.

(Signed) GOVIND NARAIN,
Home Secretary.

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Book Reviews

The British Officer in Palestine

Winged Dagger by Roy Farran (Collins, 10*s* 6*d*, 384 pp.).

THE publisher claims for this book "something of Hemingway's *For Whom The Bell Tolls*". In fact, nothing is added to literature or to military knowledge, most of the book being a highly subjective account, in unpolished prose, of the early desert campaigns, of the disaster in Crete, of an escape from occupied Greece and of operations with the Special Air Service behind the lines in France and Italy. The remaining chapters are the story of the author's engagement as counter-terrorist for the Palestine Police, of his trial for the alleged murder of a young Jew, and of his subsequent acquittal.

If this were all it would barely justify the notice of review. The book has a certain other significance, however, for the Labour Movement, in the character sketch which it presents of a not unusual "type" of regular army officer. Frank Thompson's description in *There is a Spirit in Europe* of regular officers of the British Army possessed of little else but "an utterly irrational courage" exactly fits Farran, who faithfully reflects the views and outlook of the military caste into which he has been received. But whereas Thompson knew and understood the issues at stake in the war, was one with the partisans with whom he fought, *Winged Dagger* reveals a depth of political ignorance and social unawareness remarkable even in a regular cavalry officer of the Roman Catholic persuasion. When, for instance, after six years of war, the military victory is won, Farran's chief reaction is the despairing cry of the mercenary who can destroy but cannot build: "No, I was not happy that the war was over." (p. 343).

The account of his experiences in Palestine, first in 1946, as a regimental soldier in the 3rd Hussars where he and I commanded sabre squadrons, then, in 1947, as counter-terrorist, reveals, in a one-sided, inadequate manner, something of the methods of the British administration in Palestine, its inefficiency, its bias towards the Arab side. Farran makes no mention of the provocative character of many of the curfews, especially in Tel Aviv, nor of the anti-semitic views of many senior officers, though he knows these things as well as I do. Instead, he supports the Arabs all the way, the while pointing the parallel between the rôle of the British in Palestine and that of the Germans in occupied Europe, compelling us to the conclusion (p. 350) that in his view the Government had only to copy German methods for the trouble to have been suppressed and the British mandate maintained!

The maudlin epilogue finally shows us an ex-officer, disillusioned, bitter. "If we had only defeated Germany to make Britain a ping-pong ball between America and Russia, I was not sure that we had really fought on the right side." Mosley's argument!

Farran alone does not matter. What *does* matter is that without doubt he expresses the point of view of numerous ex-officers and of many hundreds of serving officers, who still occupy influential positions, officers who see the solution of Britain's problems in "discipline and firmness" and in war against Russia, officers whom the Labour Government uses and supports.

PETER BRINSON.

When Labour Was Revolutionary

From Cobbett to the Chartists (1815-1848). Extracts from contemporary sources edited by Max Morris. (History in the making: Nineteenth Century, Vol. 1, Lawrence & Wishart, 257 pp., 5*s*.)

IN these days we often meet with the argument that revolution is alien to Britain—a foul invention of Moscow, or anyway of Marx and Engels, who were dirty foreigners; and that British

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Socialism means playing the Parliamentary game and collaborating with the capitalists like good little Attlees and Crippses. Every Socialist who is up against this propaganda should be in possession of *From Cobbett to the Chartists,* the first of three volumes which tell the true story of the Labour Movement in nineteenth century Britain.

After a useful introduction, we are given extracts from Cobbett, that sturdy old Radical who championed the workers of the day against the foulest class of exploiters who ever cursed our country. We are told in contemporary documents the story of Peterloo, of Thistlewood and Andrew Hardie, of the fight for trade unions and the Tolpuddle martyrs, of the People's Charter and its real significance.

It is the way of academic historians to whittle down Chartism to a mere franchise agitation. We are reminded here that to its champions the Charter was "a knife and fork question, a bread and cheese question." The Chartists wanted the vote, not for its own sake, but to get a square deal for the working class. At the end of the book we see Bronterre O'Brien pleading for a London working-class daily paper, and Marx and Engels hailing the Chartists as worthy allies in the struggle for working-class freedom the world over.

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

Youth Builds

The Railway (The British-Yugoslav Association, 2*s* 6*d*).

WRITTEN and illustrated by British volunteers on the Youth Railway last summer, this book has caught the spirit of the railway—"We build the railway, the railway builds us". Perhaps each year's volunteers will produce a volume, until it becomes an annual.

A. P.

The Traditional Home Office

The Home Office by Sir Alexander Maxwell, G.C.B., K.B.E. (Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 2/6, 22 pp).

AN arid and yet unctuous lecture, describing the functions of the Home Office in relation to the treatment of offenders, delivered by an experienced civil servant.

One gains the impression that he was instructed by his chief not to let his audience know there was anything much wrong with the system, and above all not to express any opinion. The result is a cross between a headmaster's speech at a school prize-giving and a Chairman's annual address to the shareholders of a fairly prosperous company.

The lecturer keeps in the fashion by a reference to "the police states of Eastern Europe". Apart from that there is no reference of any kind to the outer world, although one of the things required by the Home Office for its work is stated to be "knowledge . . . of new developments in other countries."

Almost the only touch of humour is the remark that "of the value of the Borstal system those who have personal experience of the institution have no doubt."

There is a reference to "the traditional doctrine that the period of an offender's detention should be precisely fixed by the court by reference to the gravity of his *defence*" (my italics, D. N. P.). It is to be hoped that this is a misprint, and not a reference to the practice of some benches of magistrates to award longer sentences on men who plead not guilty and take up more of the court's time as a result.

D. N. P.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

The Summer number of this United States quarterly has for main article "European Recovery and United States Aid" by J. J. Joseph.

Single copy 40 cents. Annual subscription $1.50 from Science and Society, 30 East 20th Street, New York City, or from their English representatives: Collet's, 40 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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(Virginia)

★

A READER ASKS . . .

An overseas reader writes saying that he would "like to subscribe to a few other British publications of the same high standard as LABOUR MONTHLY", asking us to help him select some. Have readers any suggestions?

UN-MARTIAL AID

With two dollars pinned to it, the shortest letter on record reached us recently, from America. It ran: "Can you use this? Yours for peace." This un-martial aid had a good reception.

READERS ON HOLIDAY

Fearing to find the magazine sold out when they return from holiday, some readers have asked us to send their copy to their holiday address. That can be done, but we must be told here at 134 Ballards Lane, N.3, ten days before the end of the month. A group of young people going abroad on a "Working Party", keen to keep in touch with events at home, have made a special deal with us for a bulk order to be despatched early, so that it reaches them within the first two or three days of July.

★

"A NOBLE SPIRIT"

This month our development fund shows a gentle rise. That is encouraging, not only because it brings some of our long-cherished development plans a little nearer to our grasp, but because of what it stands for—a close, living relationship with our readers. These pennies, cents and francs have had to be earned, each separate one of them, and we know they don't earn easily. Some of them mean a lot in human terms. Readers will remember that when the obituary of Commander Harold Grenfell appeared in April, a donation from him of £5 led the fund—his last help to us. This month we lead the fund with a like sum. It comes from a reader in Illinois, who writes: "Here are 20 dollars for your sustaining fund in memory of the late Harold Grenfell —a truly noble spirit."

E. McG. (U.S.A.), £5; R. McLeod, 5s; L. Rowan, 6s; D. J. Oakeshott, 12s 6d; D. Rees, 10s; E. D. McCallum, 2s 6d; W. F. Lakin-Smith, 2s 6d; E. D. Wedlake, 2s 6d; S. Mill, 10s; L'Humanite, 2s; G. E. and M. F. A. Philibert, 10s; D. M. Clarke, 10s; T. Flood, 2s 6d; H. N. Humphreys, 3s 6d; Anon, Whitehurch, 1s; R. F. B., £3; Olivia Greene, £2; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; P. J. Davis, 2s; T. W. R., £1; H. S. M., 2s 6d; S. Morrissy, 10s; Mrs. K. Kennedy, 2s 6d; F. Renouf, 5s; J. B., Chelmsford, 5s; R. McLeod, 5s; Cambridge C.P., 11s; D. Rees, 10s; E. D. McCallum, 5s; H. N. Humphreys, 3s 8d; Director, £2; P. Brinson, 10s; Socialist Sailor, £1; J. A. Purton, 5s.

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£34 6s. 10d.

Our thanks to you all, ANGELA TUCKETT.

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Dorchester and District Newspapers, Ltd. (T.U.), Dorchester, Great Britain.

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